Die Lunæ 8. Novemb. 1680.

ORdered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Aſſembled, That the Thanks of this Houſe be and are hereby given to the Lord Biſhop of St. Aſaph, *for his pains in Preaching before their Lordſhips on* Friday *laſt, being the Anniverſary Thankſgiving-day to Almighty God for the deliverance of this Kingdom from the Gun-powder-Treaſon: and his Lordſhip is hereby deſired to cauſe his Sermon then Preached to be Printed and Publiſhed.*

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2.

A

SERMON

Preached before the

Houſe of Lords,

ON

November 5. 1680.

By the Right Reverend Father in God,

WILLIAM

Lloyd, Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*.

LONDON,

Printed by *M. C.* for *Henry Brome*, at the Gun in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1680.

TO THE
LORDS Spiritual and Temporal
Assembled in
PARLIAMENT.

My Lords,

WHile I am paying my Obedience to your Lordships Commands for the Printing of this Sermon, I humbly crave leave to say something for the clearing of my self from a Prejudice, which, if true, would render me unfit to be so far owned by your Lordships, as to be admitted to Preach before You; and having done it, to be commanded to Print my Sermon. For I cannot but take notice, that both before and since I received that Honour from you, I have been tax'd as being not Protestant enough, on account of a Book, called, Considerations touching the true way to suppress Popery in this Kingdom.

How far I was concerned in that Treatise, the Preface to it sufficiently declares.

The Book it ſelf was Publiſh'd in Michaelmas *Term* * 1676. *juſt two years before the Popiſh Plot was diſcovered.*

* That is, in the Booksellers ſtyle, 1677.

The deſign of it was propoſed to me as the likelieſt Remedy at that time againſt the ſame Diſeaſe under which we are now labouring for Life, or Death: but it was before things were come to ſuch a dangerous Criſis.

I ſaw it was much the ſame Deſign that many of the beſt and moſt eminent Proteſtants, particularly Q. Elizabeth *and* K. James, *had at ſeveral times countenanced, and put in practice with very good ſucceſs: they were, next to the uniting of Proteſtants, for the dividing of Papiſts, whoſe chief advantage hitherto has been their Union, ſuch as it is, and our needleſs Diviſions. But at that time I thought it more proper and ſeaſonable than ever, upon the beſt Judgment that I could make of their and our Circumſtances. And I have ſome reaſon to think I was not miſtaken in this. For now I ſee that at the very time when this was brought to me, and while I was forming my thoughts upon it, the Papiſts themſelves were in a great apprehenſion of this very thing, as being of all other ways the moſt likely to blaſt their hopes, and to preſerve us from that Ruine which they were then bringing upon us. Thus* Coleman * *at that time wrote to the Popes Internuncio,*

* Aug. 30. 1675.

ternuncio, † There is but One thing (*ſaith he*) to be feared, (whereof I have a great apprehenſion,) that can hinder the ſucceſs of our Deſigns; which is, a Diviſion among the Catholicks themſelves. *How dividing them? It follows, by* Propoſitions to the Parliament to accord their conjunction to thoſe that require it, —*on* Conditions prejudicial to the Authority of the Pope;—*and* ſo to perſecute the reſt of them with more appearance of Juſtice, and ruine the one half of them more eaſily than the whole Body at once. *And to ſhew that* Coleman *was not ſingular herein, Cardinal* Howard * *delivers this as their Judgment at* Rome, *where, if any where, they are Infallible;* Diviſion of Catholicks will be the eaſieſt way for Proteſtants to deſtroy them.

† p. 17. of the *Collection of Letters* ſet out by order of the Houſe of Commons.

* March 1676. *Ibid.* p. 82.

This being ſaid for the Deſign from ſo good Authority, I have this farther to ſay for my ſelf, that only the laſt part of that Book was my own, in which I did juſtifie the Reformation of this Church; and what I wrote in that part, I am ſure no Papiſt can diſprove, and I think no Proteſtant has cauſe to complain of it.

I thank God I have in this whole matter the witneſs of a good Conſcience; and I hope likewiſe your Lordſhips good opinion of my honeſt zeal to maintain

tain the Protestant Religion against Popery. For a farther Testimony whereof, and in obedience to your Lordships Commands, I humbly present this following Discourse.

My Lords,

I am

Your Lordships most humble

and most obedient Servant,

W. Asaph.

A SER-

A SERMON ON

PSALM CXXIV. 1, 2, 3. *Verſes.*

1. *If it had not been the Lord who was on our ſide, now may Iſrael ſay;*
2. *If it had not been the Lord who was on our ſide, when men roſe up againſt us;*
3. *Then they had ſwallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled againſt us.*

WHAT Deliverance it was, upon which *David* made this Pſalm, at this diſtance of time we cannot certainly know. But whatſoever it was, this we find, it was of the People of *Iſrael*: And whenſoever it happened, we ſee they remembred it afterwards. It was the manner of Gods people to

remember a Deliverance, many years, and ages, after they had received it; and when that particular deliverance was forgotten, yet ſtill they kept up their Thankſgiving to God, in a Pſalm; which being once compoſed for that former mercy, might be uſed ever after upon any other like occaſion.

The Deliverance of our Fathers on this day was as great as ever any was that God gave the Jews; and we come now to celebrate it, not many ages after, but while ſome are yet living that remember it; and we that have been born ſince, are as ſure of it, as if we had been then living our ſelves: and yet, for fear it ſhould be forgotten in our Age, God hath been pleaſed to put us in remembrance, by ſuffering the ſame Enemy to put us in freſh Dangers, and then ſending us new Deliverances. If all this will not affect us with a ſenſe of what we owe to God for his mercy, we are ſo far from being like Gods ancient People, that we deſerve to be given up to ſtrong Deluſions, to a belief of Popiſh Legends, of a *Cecil's Plot*, and ſuch like ſenſleſs Fictions; which none could give credit to, that had not firſt ſubdued his underſtanding to the belief of any thing, how incredible ſoever, by the belief of *Tranſubſtantiation*.

But

But if we may give any heed to our ſenſes, and to our reaſon, if we may believe the Teſtimony of all men then living, if we may judge from our own experience of the like deſigns ſince; (theſe I think are all the ways that we have to come to the knowledge of ſuch things, and it were eaſie to ſhew that all theſe ways we are ſure of the Gunpowder-Treaſon.) As we cannot but think with horror of the danger that the King and Kingdom were then in, ſo we cannot reflect on their Deliverance but with the greateſt admiration: We cannot think of it, eſpecially on this day, without a thankful acknowledgment to God, in ſuch words as his antient people have left us in this Text: *If it had not been the Lord who was on our ſide, now may Iſrael ſay; If it had not been the Lord who was on our ſide, when men roſe up againſt us; then they had ſwallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled againſt us.*

There are five things to be conſidered in theſe words, which, when they are explained, will all be found applicable to our caſe.

Here is firſt, The wrath and malice of the enemies of Gods people; and that againſt *Iſrael*, as being the people of God. 'Tis expreſt in the laſt words of my Text, *They were wrathfully diſpleaſed at us.*

Gods enemies are ſo at all times, never otherwiſe; but at ſome times they ſhew it more than at other; and that is, when they are ready to put their malice in execution; which is the ſecond thing in my Text.

Secondly, Their Conſpiracy, their attempt to execute their malice, expreſs'd in theſe words, *When they roſe up againſt us.*

Thirdly, The extreme danger of Gods People at the time of ſuch an attempt; which was ſo great in the Iſraelites caſe, that they acknowledged, if it had not been for God, *they had been ſwallowed up quick.* The word בלעים here uſed, is either *whole*, or *raw*, or *alive*; and it is interpreted all theſe ways by the Jewiſh writers. They had eaten us *whole*, without chewing, ſaith *Solomon-Melech.* They had devoured us *raw*, ſaith *David-Kimchi.* They had ſwallowed us up *alive*, ſaith *Aben-Ezra*, as the Earth ſwallowed up *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, that went down alive into the Pit.

This phraſe, as it ſignifies the greatneſs, and nearneſs, of that danger that comes ſometimes on Gods Church; ſo it ſignifies alſo the eager paſſionate hopes of their enemies. *They had ſwallowed us up quick*, (ſaith *Iſrael* in my Text:) They were in great haſte to have us in their bellies;

lies: that they could not forbear us till we were dead, as one of them renders it; that they fell upon us *raw*, they could not ſtay the dreſſing of us, ſaith another; that they were for ſwallowing us up *whole*, they had not patience for chewing, ſaith a third. Surely, great was their haſte, when *their wrath was* thus *kindled againſt us*; and great was our danger, *If God had not been on our ſide*. That is the fourth thing to be conſidered in theſe words.

Fourthly, It is the providence of God, that watches over his people, that takes part with them againſt their implacable enemies, that delivers them from danger, even when things are come to extremity.

Laſtly, Here is a due return to God of Thankfulneſs from his people; which as they have cauſe for at all times, ſo eſpecially upon ſuch a deliverance, on every thought or mention of it. *Now may Iſrael ſay*, with mouth and heart; privately, and in the Congregation; *If the Lord had not been on our ſide*, what would have become of us? And *Now*, what ſhall we render to him, for being thus on our ſide? *Saying* is put for Doing in Scripture-language; all Gods words are actions, and he expects ſomething like this from us: He expects that our

actions

actions ſhould anſwer our words; that what we ſay in our Thankſgivings, we ſhould do like it in all the courſe of our lives; and that we *glorifie God*, not only by *offering praiſe*, but by *ordering our converſation aright.*

Here are five things obſerved. Firſt, the malice of wicked men; they are always *wrathfully diſpleaſed at us.*

Secondly, Their endeavours to execute it; when *they riſe up againſt us.*

Thirdly, The danger of Gods people; that they ſhall *be ſwallowed up quick.*

Fourthly, Gods providence over them, in appearing *on their ſide.*

And laſtly, Their thankfulneſs to God in their grateful acknowledgment of it.

Of all theſe, there are two things chiefly to be conſidered, which I have made choice of for my ſubject at this time.

The firſt is, The malicious deſigns of Gods enemies for the deſtruction of his people.

The ſecond is, The providence of God, watching over his people to deliver them from his and their enemies.

Both theſe I ſhall conſider; Firſt, in other inſtances: and then in the Gunpowder-Treaſon: 'Tis that which perhaps of all others is the greateſt

greateſt that ever was; 'tis that which particularly concerns us this day.

I ſhall ſhew therefore; Firſt, how great a danger it was, how near the point of execution, how then God appeared for our deliverance, how wonderful a deliverance it was; and then, how we ought to ſhew our ſenſe of it, in our zeal for that Religion which God was ſo concerned for, and in adorning it by a life that may be exemplary to all other Chriſtians.

The firſt thing that I obſerve, is, the malice and ſpitefulneſs of wicked men, the enemies of God; their proneneſs to hurt, and to deſtroy, his Church, and all true Members of it.

This, as ſoon as I name it, is conſeſt on all hands. For all parties take themſelves to be the Church of God: and the worſt Sects among Chriſtians (in my opinion) are they that take themſelves to be the only true Church. Grant but this, that they are the only true Church, and they will not ſtick with us for my Doctrine. They will acknowledge it, and tell us we are inſtances of it; that the enemies of God, hate his Church, and endeavour to deſtroy it. But becauſe this will ſignifie nothing, till it appear who are the Church of God, or at leaſt who are the enemies of it; I ſhall determine that by bring-

bringing it to this iſſue; That they who are moſt given to hate, and to deſtroy others, eſpecially thoſe others who differ from them in Religion, they are not the Church of God, or at leaſt, they are ſo far corrupt in that particular.

I might ſay this of Men, without any relation to the Church: the worſe they are in other reſpects, the more prone they are generally to hate thoſe that are better than themſelves; and to ſhew it, by doing them all the miſchief they are able. Whereas on the other hand, Good men are of gracious diſpoſitions: They may be diſpleaſed, but not *wrathfully* (as it is in my Text:) They are not prone to do miſchief, but are ready to do good, even to enemies: And the better they are, the more they excell in theſe diſpoſitions. A good man is the only true Image of God, who *is good*, *and does good* to all his Creatures, even to Sinners; who is ſo far from willing the death of a Sinner, that he does *not willingly grieve the children of men.* Whereas on the other hand, it is the property of the Devil, to hate, and to hurt, and to deſtroy all that come in his way. He is therefore called *Abaddon* and *Apollyon* in the *Revelations.* He is truly ſo. He was *a Murderer from the beginning*, and will be ſo even to the end of the world. And by

by these Characters of God, and the Devil, by their proneness to do good on the one hand, by their proneness to do mischief on the other; by these we are to distinguish men (as the Apostle tells us,) 1 John 3. 10. *By this the children of God are manifested, and the children of the Devil.*

It holds, we see, in particular persons; but it is much more visible in Societies. And to this I come next; that, of Societies of men, Christians, of all other, are most averse from ways of violence and blood; especially from using any such ways upon the account of Religion: And among Christian Churches, where they differ among themselves, if either of them use those ways upon the account of Religion, they give a strong presumption against themselves that they are not truly Christians.

There is Reason for this, because, we know that Christ gave Love for the character by which his Disciples were to be known, John 13. 35. *By this shall all men know that you are my Disciples, if you have love one to another.* And lest men should unchristen others first, that they may hate them, and destroy them afterwards; Christ enlarged his Precept of Love, and extended it even to enemies; and not only to ours, but to the enemies of our Religion, *Matth.* 5. 43, 44.

And to enable us to live according to this Precept, he hath given us his Spirit, whereof this is one of the Fruits. For among the *Fruits of the Spirit*, is not only φιλαδελφία, but Ἀγάπη; not only the love of the Brethren, but the love of ſtrangers, even of enemies; as the Apoſtle ſhews, 2 *Pet.* 1. 5. On the contrary, Hatred is one of the *works of the fleſh*: and they that have not the Spirit of Chriſt to ſubdue it, are ſaid to be *hateful, and hating one another*, Tit. 3. 3. Eſpecially to his Diſciples, Chriſt ſaith, *The world hates you*, John 15. 19. *You*, particularly, as being Chriſtians. And even among Chriſtians, *He that ſaith he is in the light and hates his Brother*, his fellow Chriſtian, *he is in darkneſs ſtill*, (ſaith the Apoſtle) 1 *John* 2. 9. He hath a great want of that light which belongeth to a Chriſtian.

To ſee the uſe of this Character, let any one conſider, how the Chriſtians were treated by the enemies of their Religion; and then let him conſider, how they uſed their enemies, when they were in power: he ſhall find that darkneſs differs not more from light, than the perſecuting *genius* of thoſe enemies, from the calm gentle ſpirit of Chriſtians. I ſay, when they were in power; for there is the tryal.

'Tis not much to be heeded, what men do, when

when they are under Authority. When the Jews had the power to wreak their malice upon Christians, they both killed the Lord *Jesus*, and his Apostles, and all Christians where they durst for fear of the Romans; they never ceased, till *wrath come upon them to the uttermost*: nor even then, for their malice lasts still, it burns inward, and they are not able to keep it from breaking out, sometimes, as it did here very lately, upon an occasion of which I shall say no more in this place.

The Heathens likewise shewed their malice against Christians, in divers cruel bloody Persecutions, in the very infancy of our Religion; and when, the Blood of Martyrs being the seed of the Church, it grew up so wonderfully, and was so vastly numerous, that it seemed an endless work to destroy it; yet there were those Heathen Princes that despaired not of it, even then: especially *Diocletan*, and his Colleague, who killed many thousands of Christians, only upon the account of Religion. When the Government changed, as it did in few years after the last Persecution; and when Christianity was come to be the Established Religion; there was no Heathen put to death, nor no Jew, upon the account of Religion; till Popery pre-

vailed, which was as bloody as Judaiſm or Heatheniſm. This calm gentle temper of the Primitive Chriſtians, which ſo glorioufly ſhined forth when they came to be in Power, was that which lay hid in them all the times of Perſecution. Then, they could not ſhew it, but in their Profeſſion: and ſo indeed they always did, as appears by *Tertullian* and others, who uſed to ſay, and glory in it, *Chriſtianus nullius hoſtis*, a Chriſtian is no mans enemy, a Chriſtian can be no mans enemy: do what you will to him, injure him, ſlander him, ſtrip and torture him, kill all others of his Religion before his eyes; and then let him looſe, and give him power, place him in your circumſtances, he cannot revenge himſelf upon you.

What! that humane nature could bear ſuch things without any reſentment! it was not credible; their enemies could not believe this; (none could believe it, that did not feel it in himſelf) till they came to ſee it; and then all men believed it, and acknowledged it to be the ſingular excellency of the Chriſtian Religion.

But as our holy Religion excels all others in this admirable temper; ſo by this we may uſually judge who they are that excel among Chriſtian Churches, when there happens any difference

rence between them; whether touching the Faith, or the terms of Communion. They that were the more fierce, they generally had the worst Cause. As when the difference was about the keeping of *Easter*; it was chiefly between the Roman and the Asian Churches: The Asians were content, that every Church should keep it at what time they pleas'd, so themselves might be allowed to keep it as they had always done; for they held the precise time to be (as truly it was) an indifferent thing: The Romans would not allow that, they were for imposing on other Churches, and for breaking Communion with them that would not receive their Impositions; Which, as it argued in them a proud and wrathful disposition; so even by that it appeared they had the worst of the Cause. In like manner, in that heat between *Cyprian* and *Stephen*, where neither of them was right in the Cause; for (as it commonly happens when men contend) the Truth lay between them; yet sure St. *Cyprian* was in the right in this, in holding that this cause was not sufficient to break Communion between Churches: And there Pope *Stephen* was in the wrong; for he did break Communion about it; he denied *jus hospitii*, he would not receive a message, he would

not

not hear of an Accommodation. I forbear to repeat the ill terms he gave St. *Cyprian*, you may read them in the end of *Firmilian*'s Epiſtle. We all allow that *Cyprian* was truly a Saint. 'Tis well they own him ſuch in the Roman Church. But how they can make that Pope ſo too, I do not underſtand; for it is plain, that to his death he would not allow that Saint to be a Chriſtian.

The great power of Error, in moving mens Paſſions, and enraging them againſt the Profeſſors of Truth; and the power of true Religion, in compoſing mens Paſſions on the other hand; both theſe did appear, as ſoon as ever a Hereſie came to have Publick Authority on its ſide. It was the *Arian* Hereſie that was newly broke forth before the Council of *Nice*, and that Council was called to ſuppreſs it; which they did, by no other force, but putting *Arians* out of their Biſhopricks; They could not think Hereticks fit to be truſted with the Cure of Souls; But otherwiſe, as to Temporal things, I do not find that they inflicted any kind of Puniſhment: But when the *Arians* came to have the Power in their hands, when theirs was come to be the Imperial Religion; then, Depriving was nothing, Baniſhment was the leaſt that they inflicted; In many places they proceeded to

to Blood, which was never drawn on the other ſide by the Orthodox Chriſtians; except once in a popular Tumult in *Alexandria*; where *George* the intruding Biſhop was torn in pieces; and yet that was rather by Heathens than by Chriſtians, as *Ammian* himſelf a Heathen Writer confeſſes.

Except that, (if it need be excepted,) I do not remember any other inſtance, of an *Arian* that was put to death in thoſe days upon the account of Religion.

And to ſhew that likewiſe in caſe of Schiſm, the beſt Chriſtians always kept the beſt temper: beſides thoſe inſtances I have already given, which perhaps are not ſo proper to prove this, becauſe when they happened, Chriſtianity was not the eſtabliſhed Religion: When it was eſtabliſhed by *Law*, then there happened that famous Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, which gave an evident tryal of this.

With what folly and fury did they break out of the Church? With what inſolence and perverſeneſs did they behave themſelves towards it? What out-rages did they commit? nay, what did they not commit? even to blood, in the *Circumcellions* caſe; While the Catholicks on the other hand, except in that caſe, which forced

rigor

rigor from them in their own defence, treated them with all calmneſs and gentleneſs.

They called them *Brethren* in their Writings; They wooed them to be Friends, and offered them terms of Communion; ſuch as none would have offered, but paſſionate lovers of peace; ſuch as none would have refuſed, but the obſtinate enemies of it: and yet all this while, the Catholicks had the Government on their ſide; which ſince thoſe Schiſmaticks could not get from them, they took a courſe to deſtroy it, by letting in the *Vandals* into the Roman Empire.

I have ſhewn ſo much of this Diabolical Spirit, in every ſort of the Enemies of the Church of God; not only in Heathens and Unbelievers, without; but alſo in Hereticks and Schiſmaticks within: And I have ſhewn ſo much of the Chriſtian Spirit on the other hand, the great patience and meekneſs of Gods people in dealing with all ſorts of enemies: that conſidering what advantage they have who lay about them with rage, againſt thoſe that ſtand ſtill, and are only ready to ſuffer, one would wonder, that long ſince true Religion had not been deſtroyed, or driven out of the world.

But to this I have to anſwer, (and this is my ſecond

ſecond Doctrine;) that notwithſtanding all this rage and malice of the Adverſaries, and notwithſtanding all this meekneſs of Chriſtians; yet ſtill God is concerned for the Chriſtian Religion; and he ſhews it by ſending ſuch ſeaſonable Deliverances, as preſerve it, often from hurt, and always from utter deſtruction.

Deſtroyed it ſhall never be. For ſo much Chriſt declared before he built his Church: when he promiſed to make his Apoſtles the Foundation-ſtones in it, ſaying to *Peter* in particular *Upon thee will I build my Church*: He added this promiſe, that the *Gates of Hell* ſhould *not prevail againſt it.* And ſo to all his Apoſtles at parting, when he was about to be taken up into Heaven; he promiſed, for all that, *I will be with you even to the end of the world.* If Chriſt be with his Church according to his promiſe, that is enough to ſecure it againſt utter deſtruction.

I ſpeak now as to the Catholick, or Univerſal Church; for there is no ſuch Promiſe given to particular Churches. They may be deſtroyed and periſh for their ſins. We ſee many are ſo already; almoſt all that were planted in the Apoſtles times: The Church of *Jeruſalem*, where our Religion began; The Church of *Antioch*, where we were firſt called Chriſtians; the Six

Churches, to which St. *Paul* writ his Epiſtles; The Seven to which St. *John* writ in his *Revelations*: where are they? ſcarce a remnant remains: moſt of them are quite periſhed from the Earth. This is Gods judgment upon them for their ſins: A Judgment which God threatned long ſince, that if they did not repent, he would *take away their Candleſtick* from them: A Judgment ſo dreadfully executed to warn us, that *unleſs we repent, we ſhall all likewiſe periſh.*

But then, if we do repent, we ſhall not periſh: this we know, for an Exception ſtrengthens a Rule. We know that they which keep up the Power of Religion, ſhall find it a ſtrong band between them and God; by which, as we oblige our ſelves to him, not to leave him nor forſake him; ſo he obligeth himſelf to us, that he *will not leave us nor forſake us.* And therefore howſoever, for our leſſer tranſgreſſions, he may *puniſh our offences with a rod, and our ſin with ſcourges: nevertheleſs his loving kindneſs will he not utterly take from us, nor ſuffer his truth to fail.* Nay, in this caſe, if he ſuffer his Church to be oppreſſed, his deſign may be not ſo much to puniſh, as to purge them. He may run them through the fire, to melt out their droſs, to make them ſhine more glorious, by having been for a while in Per-

Perſecution. But whatſoever his dealing may be, (which we are to reſign entirely to his Wiſdom;) whether he deſign to puniſh, or purge us, or whether only to ſhew us the rod; we are ſure in all conditions to be under the good Providence of God. If our *ways pleaſe the Lord*, either he will *make our enemies* to be *at peace* with us; or he will not let them be able to hurt us: at leaſt, they ſhall not have their will upon us, they ſhall not ſay *There, there, ſo would we have it*; They ſhall not be able to *ſwallow us up quick*, though they are never ſo *wrathfully diſpleaſed at us*.

The ways that God hath to deliver us, are many more than I am able to reckon: and yet I can reckon more than I can bring within my time. But ſo the thing be done, what matter is it, which way God uſes? whether by deſtroying his and our enemies; whether by breaking their Combinations againſt us; or by otherwiſe weakning their ſtrength: whether by infatuating their Counſels, or diſcovering their crafty deſigns: whether by raiſing us up friends, or uniting us among our ſelves; and ſo making us too many and too ſtrong for them: whether by giving means unexpected, or by bleſſing what we have, above expectation? He can do

what, and which way, he will; and we are ſure it is his will to deliver his People from their enemies; for he is on their ſide, and will ſhew it, whereſoever there is need, and when he ſees it the fitteſt time to deliver them.

All that I have ſaid hitherto, hath been only upon ſuch general heads, as are equally acknowledged by all ſorts of Chriſtians among us: and for this agreement, we chiefly are under God, to thank his Majeſty, and this moſt Honorable Aſſembly: that have kept the Church of *England* in that Power which it received from their Predeceſſors, and not ſuffered it to fall into any other hands. Neither our Religion, nor our Church, is of a Perſecuting Spirit. I know not how it may be in particular perſons. But I ſay again, it is not in the *genius* of our Church: She hath no Doctrine that teacheth Perſecution; She hath not practiſed it, as others, when they were in Authority. I thank God for it, and I hope, ſhe will always continue in that temper; which, being added to the other Marks of a true Chriſtian Church, may aſſure us, that She is a Church according to the mind of Chriſt.

But can all others ſay the ſame, that call themſelves Churches of Chriſt? or were they ſo, when they had power in their hands? They that

that never were in Power, can never answer this Question. Therefore none can answer it so well as the Papists; and they tell us, Now, they are as much against Persecution as any.

But what would they be, if they were in Power? God forbid we should ever live to see the tryal of it. They have been tryed too much already to be believed in this matter. We have seen, we have felt, sufficient proofs of their Spirit; more proofs of that sort, to prove them a false Church, than they can shew upon *Bellarmin*'s fifteen notes of a true one.

I do not speak now of particular persons: I believe there are many good People of that Communion. I do not think that common Reason, and that common Christianity, can be wholly extinguished by the Principles of their Religion. I doubt not but in some, I hope in many, it prevails above their Religion; otherwise I know there could not be good People of that Communion.

For, take their Religion in it self, abstracting from the common Christianity: and so there is nothing else in it, but Superstition and Cruelty. 'Tis *Lutum sanguine maceratum*, Dirt tempered with Blood, according to *Nero*'s Character. 'Tis a Religion so far from making men

like

like God, that it makes them worſe then men would be without any Religion.

There is a natural compaſſion in man, that moves him at the ſight of others ſufferings; and eſpecially at the ſight of great Cruelties, it turns ones very Bowels within him: and 'tis no common provocation, that can harden one againſt this. But take this man, and throughly ſteep him in Popery, he comes forth, without any compaſſion at all. He can not only ſee any Cruelty, but act it: he can act it unprovoked, on any perſon whatſoever, without remorſe, yea with Pleaſure and Triumph, as an act of Religion, and a good ſervice to God.

And to ſhew that this Religion is not the common Chriſtianity; he can do this upon them who have that as well as himſelf. Otherwiſe, if it were only on the enemies of Chriſt, then indeed it might be thought that Chriſtianity moved him to it. But he conſiders Chriſtians without Popery, no more than he doth Turks or Infidels: which ſhews, that he is not moved by common Chriſtianity, but by that part of his Religion which is properly Popery.

'Tis a Religion (I am ſorry we have no other name to call it by) that yies Cruelty with antient Judaiſm and Heatheniſm. If thoſe deſtroyed

ſtroyed thouſands of Chriſtians in Primitive times; Popery hath deſtroyed its ten thouſands of as innocent perſons, and deſtroyed them with as great Barbarity and Cruelty. I do not think, there was ever ſuch havock made upon the Earth, of Humane Creatures, as was made of millions of Heathens in *America*. There were never greater Cruelties invented, than were there uſed; and that not in anger, but in ſport, upon poor helpleſs innocent creatures. It would make ones fleſh tremble, to read them deſcribed by their own Writers. And yet they that did theſe things were very good Catholicks, as they thought themſelves; and they acted like Roman Catholicks in it, for they had the Popes Commiſſion to go thither, and to Conquer that Infidel People.

But though this was done by Papiſts, yet not upon the account of Religion. No? I know not what ſhould make them ſo Savage otherwiſe. But then what think you of the Wars in the Holy-land? What think you of thoſe Slaughters of the Moors in *Spain*? and thoſe Butcheries of Jews in all Countries before the Reformation? Thoſe were cruel, and univerſal, without diſtinction of Age, or Sex; and it cannot be denied, that thoſe were upon the account of Religion.

But

But that might be the common Christianity, and not Popery only, that they thought of: and therefore I proceed to those Slaughters that they made of Christians; by their own acknowledgment as good Christians as themselves, in all other points except Popery.

For, such were all those whom they were pleased to call Hereticks in the third Canon of the fourth *Lateran* Council. That Council, in the year 1215. first made *Transubstantiation* an Article of Faith, and made them Hereticks that would not believe it: and having first provided against their going to Heaven, as far as they could, by declaring all damned that were not of the Roman Faith, in all points, and that of *Transubstantiation* in particular; Then ordered the destroying of them from the face of the Earth; and so left them no place to go to, but Hell: so great was their Charity. In the third Canon of that Council, it was ordained, that all Kings and Princes shall root out Hereticks, and all that favour them, out of their Countreys: and if any do not execute this Canon, the Pope is to take away his Country, and give it to such Catholicks as will do it effectually. This is still as good Law as any is now in the Roman

Roman Church: and it was executed ſtrictly in all places before the Reformation.

There were at firſt ſome Princes that loſt their Countreys by it, and the Pope did take the Forfeiture for a warning to other Princes. But who can number the poor Chriſtians that loſt their lives by it? above a hundred thouſand *Albigenſes* in *France*; many thouſands of the *Waldenſes*, there, and in *Italy*; the like in *Germany* of the *Bohemians*; beſides what ſuffered in *England* and other Countreys; and all put to the cruelleſt Deaths, on no other account, but their Religion. Indeed for many of them, it was not ſo evident, that they held any thing againſt Popery: But it was enough, if being taken upon ſuſpicion, they could not purge themſelves of it. The ways of purging wete different in divers places. In ſome Countreys it was by throwing them into the water, * as ſome of late have tryed Witches. In other places † the tryal was by putting a Fire-coal in their hands, and trying whether it would cleave to the fleſh: For if it did, then they concluded them Hereticks all over, and their whole bodies fit to be burnt.

* Bernard. *ſuper* Cant. *Serm.* 67.
† *Cæſar. ab Heiſt.* diſt. 3. c. 16, 17.

I cannot paſs by thoſe two learned and good men, as any were in that Age, if we may

judge by their Writings, I mean *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague*: They had to do with the moſt ſober piece of Popery, the Council of *Conſtance*; which invited them thither to Diſpute with them for their Religion. But after all their Diſputing, inſtead of having leave to return, according to their Paſſ-port that brought them thither; they were burned there, in the preſence of the Emperor, from whom they received it: And not only that Cruelty, but that breach of Publick Faith, were owned and juſtified by the Pope and his General Council.

I may perhaps have been too large in things ſo far off, and ſo long ſince; and therefore, for the reſt of my diſcourſe, I ſhall confine it to *England*, and to things done ſince the Reformation.

This Church was freed from thraldom by King *Henry* the Eighth; and was then Reformed in King *Edward* VI. days, with no material difference from what it is now at this preſent. Soon after his death, under Queen *Mary* his Succeſſor, it came to have a through feeling of the Spirit of Popery. Though ſhe came in with the greateſt aſſurance, that ſhe would make no Change in * Religion: Though ſhe promiſed it upon her

* *Dr. Burnet*'s Hiſt. of Reform. Part. 2.

her Royal word, to those Protestants, that brought her to her Crown; though they deserved it without a promise, by venturing their lives for her against a Protestant that was set up in opposition: Yet she was no sooner setled upon her Throne, but the Spirit of Popery quite cancell'd all those Obligations. There were none that durst appear for the Protestant Religion, but were fain to fly their Countrey to save their lives, or stayed and lost them with the cruellest deaths. Of the last sort, were, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and divers Bishops, and other eminent persons. Both they, and hundreds more, of the Clergy and Commonalty, were burnt alive, upon no other account but their Religion. There was only one *Flower*, here at *Westminster*, that was distracted, and wounded a Priest at Mass, for which he was burnt among the rest. Of all the other that suffered, there was no other pretence against any, but only upon the account of their Religion. Their charge was for not going to Confession, or for not going to Mass, or for denying Transubstantiation when they were called to it. There was nothing else in their Accusation, there was nothing else in their Sentence, there was nothing else for which they suffered; It was meerly

for their not ſubmitting to Popery; a ſufficient proof of the Spirit of that Religion.

But ſoon after, when the Proteſtant Religion came in again; ſee what a contrary Spirit appeared on the other ſide. When Queen *Elizabeth* came to Reign, and immediately declared her Religion, and Eſtabliſhed it in her firſt Year, without any violence; from that day forward, for ten years together, what one Papiſt was there that ſuffered death for his Religion? Though living in the midſt of them, whoſe deareſt Friends and Relations they had murdered; and though thoſe Proteſtants could ſay, There goes he that burnt my Father, or he that murdered my Brother, or that brought them to that cruel Death; Though the Queen her ſelf could ſay, who they were, that in her Siſters time dealt moſt inſolently and barbarouſly with her: (for they had taken away her Attendants, and put her under a Guard of Souldiers, and carried her Priſoner from place to place; and that they had not murdered her too, ſhe was beholding to the *Spaniard* for it, Though not ſo much to his Humanity, as his Policy; for if ſhe had been dead, the Queen of *Scotland*, who had married the Dauphin, would have been the next Heir to the Crown: But for her life ſhe knew

knew she owed no thanks to those Papists that were now her own Subjects; (I mean, to those of the English Nation:) yet when she came to be their Queen, for ten years, she touched not a hair of any of their heads. Only she kept them from publick exercise of Popery, she required them to come to Church every Lords-day, and those that did not, she made them pay Twelve pence a Sunday. This was all that they suffered for ten years, after ours was the Established Religion.

Was there ever so generous a revenge? so much Cruelty requited with so much Clemency?

After that, the Pope (by an Authority he gives himself) made bold to declare her uncapable to Reign; because forsooth she was a Heretick; and exhorted all her Subjects to depose her, and to murder her, by a Bull that he gave out for that purpose: This Bull being set up publickly at noon-day by one of her own Subjects, and he being taken and hanged for it, they had the impudence to call him a Martyr; and he stands the first Martyr in their Roll, among all them that suffered in her Reign. So it was ten years before any of them suffered, and then it was for declaring her no Queen, and for posting up the

the Popes Bull, to make her Subjects depoſe her and murder her.

That Bull had ſuch an effect upon many of her Subjects, that they broke out into open Rebellion againſt her. When that failed, they betook themſelves to private Conſpiracie to deſtroy her, any way, by Aſſaſſination: Which was proved time after time, as fully, and as clearly, as ever any thing was proved under the Sun. And it was proved that the firſt movers to it were Popiſh Prieſts, and eſpecially Jeſuites, who came over from beyond-Sea for that purpoſe. This obliged her to make Sanguinary Laws, to keep them out of the Kingdom; which yet were rarely inflicted upon any, but thoſe that were found to have actually carried on ſome deſign againſt her life: And there were divers Penalties upon them of that Religion, to make that uneaſie to them, which was ſo dangerous to her and to her Kingdom.

But in King *James* his time, it was almoſt three years that he had reigned, before the Gunpowder-Treaſon; during all which time, there was no Papiſt put to death, upon any of thoſe Laws: There was no Penalty inflicted upon any of them, that could be pretended to be upon the account of Religion. But contrariwiſe, they

they were remitted the arrears of all their Penalties in Queen *Elizabeths* time: nay, more than that, they were admitted to Court; they were employed in Embaſſies; they had Honors conferred upon them, as well as others: they were debarred from nothing, but only the Publick Exerciſe of their Religion: and that was provocation enough, to engage them into that helliſh Treaſon, which was to have been executed as on this day.

It was a Treaſon that ſhewed the Spirit of that Faction, how fierce and implacable it was, after ſo much experience of ours on the contrary: It ſhewed how impoſſible it was to oblige them: how impoſſible to keep them from doing miſchief; ſuch a miſchief, as none other could have invented, none but would have abhorred it, that had not been poſſeſt with the evil ſpirit of that Religion.

What! to murder their King, that had been ſo gentle and eaſie to them? to murder the innocent hopes of that Royal Family? to murder a whole Nation together, in their Repreſentative then met in Parliament? All was ſtruck at together, as if they had been but one perſon; as if (according to *Caligula's* wiſh,) they had but one neck. They were for blowing them up, for ſwal-

ſwallowing them up at once, for overwhelming all that was Venerable and Sacred in this Nation: for burying both our State and our Religion in one heap of deſtruction and ruine. Good God! *If thou hadſt not been on our ſide*, what had become of us, *when men roſe up againſt us, to ſwallow us up quick?*

Men? Who would ever ſuſpect men of ſuch a wickedneſs? We ought not to think that men were capable of it; we ought not to entertain ſo hard an opinion of Humane Nature. It was ſomething elſe that put them upon it. It was ſomething which they miſ-call Religion, that made them put off their Humanity. It was this which transformed men into ſuch monſters, that brought them, not only to think of this, but to deſign it. For their part it was actually done.

I do not charge all of that Religion with this Action: (Religion do I call it? I unwillingly uſe ſo good a word on ſo ill an occaſion; But ſince they call it ſo, let it paſs: I ſay then that all the Authors were only of that Religion; and they acted according to their own Principles, thoſe Principles which they received from their Spiritual Governors. Their Counſellors were of the Governing Party: They were Jeſuites, who had their Superior in the Plot. I need not tell you,

of

of the malice, the cloſeneſs, the ſubtilty, the rage and cruelty of that Faction; that hath ſufficiently appeared in a hundred other things: in other Exploits they have out-done all other men; but they out-did themſelves, in this unhumane, this Deviliſh Conſpiracy. It was contrived with ſuch foreſight, it was managed with ſuch policy, it was carried on with that cloſeneſs and ſecreſie, as not once to gather wind, in ſome years, till they had brought all their buſineſs to perfection. There was but a ſhort time, but one night, but half a night, between the Plot and the Execution, if God had not miraculouſly interpoſed.

The Vault was dug, the Magazine was laid in, the Iron-bars were laid over, the Engineer was at hand, the Match was laid, it was ſized for an hour, a fatal hour, of this morning, of the Fifth of *November*: In a minute of which, in a moment; all the governing part of this Nation, and God knows who more, all that came within reach, were to have been ſwallowed up quick.

Lord! What a thunderclap had it been, to this Nation, to this Church, to this Kingdom? What an Earthquake it would have been? What a *Chaos* it would have made? What a Tragical day to every thing but Popery? Nay to Papiſts themſelves? I doubt not many would have ab-

horr'd it; I am perſuaded they would; many would have abhorr'd their very Popery: But they could not have remedied what was paſt, nor have prevented the following miſeries.

Then this day had ſtood in red Letters in their Almanacks, though ſome are pleaſed to leave it out of ours. Then they muſt have kept this a Holy-day, that cannot now afford it a Thankſgiving. Then they muſt have gone to Maſs for it, that will not joyn with us now in our Prayers; and ſome that will not now give a Faggot, muſt then have lighted one.

'Tis not in my power, nor words, nor in the wit of man, to enumerate all the evils and miſeries that would have come upon this Nation. It could not have been otherwiſe, *if the Lord had not been on our ſide. If the Lord had not been on our ſide*, we had been gone, we had never been born, or had cauſe to have wiſhed we had never been.

Oh! how are we bound to thank God, that he was on our ſide on this day? How are we bound to praiſe his name, for preſerving us ſo many times ſince? I need not reckon up to you the particulars. I know of no great danger we have been in, but hath more or leſs been occaſion'd by the ſame ſort of men; or if they did not begin it, they have ſtruck in with it, and contributed to carry

carry it on all they could. And shall we tempt God, by doing nothing to secure our selves against them? It is plain that this were contrary to Gratitude. But what shall we do towards our safety? there is nothing more worth our consideration.

The Bill against Popery, that has pass'd in the House of Lords.

But do I ask that? when I know what this August Assembly hath judged? And if your judgment be seconded, as I hope it will be, there is no doubt his Majesty will assent to it: Then we shall have no occasion for any more such Miracle; there will be an ordinary way, to keep us out of this danger.

First, they will be obliged, all the Papists that stay in *England*, at least for their own ease, if not for the common security, to consider, whether they are bound in Conscience to be still of that Faction.

That is more than we have been able to bring them to for many years. They would rarely endure any of our Clergy to speak to them. They had their ears stopt against us, for fear of better information. If you can but bring them to hear Truth, I am perswaded they cannot continue Papists. I know they cannot, if they have so much sense in them, as to consider, how little reason

they have for it. And for them that will not hear nor conſider, neither of themſelves, nor when Authority requires it, what can be more reaſonable than what you have judged? I think none will judge otherwiſe, that will conſider the preſent caſe. This, I take it, is the preſent caſe between them and us; our main difference is in a plain point of practice, whoſe Subjects they and we muſt be. They will needs be ſubject to one that lives in *Italy*. If they will be ſo, who can help it? Nay that will not content them, but we muſt be his Subjects too: That is hard, when we can ſee no reaſon for it. Nay, we muſt, or we ſhall never be quiet otherwiſe. No? Cannot we intreat them? Cannot we oblige them to be quiet? We have endeavoured to do it, with all poſſible Civility; and yet we cannot be quiet, without being what we will never be. Then it is time to part, if we cannot live together; that's plain. But now the queſtion is, Who ſhall go? that would I, with all my ſoul, if Popery were the Religion of *England*. I proteſt, I would not ſtay in it.

And yet I have done nothing to make my Country afraid of me; and I have nothing but my Religion to provoke any of them. I hate the perſon of no Papiſt, or man in the world. I would

would have no man puniſhed for his Religion; no not them that deſtroy men for Religion. I would not puniſh them; but I would not live with them, if I could help it. I know no Sect among Chriſtians that I would not live under rather than Popery.

But what matter is it for ſuch a one as me? I expect from them no regard to what I ſay. But methinks they ſhould have ſome regard for their Country. I would tell them, if they were preſent, your Country is afraid of you. She does as it were beg you to be gone. For a hundred years ſhe hath been in danger of you. She hath not ſuffered but ſome way or other on your acconnt. The Spaniſh Invaſion was for Popery. The Gunpowder-Treaſon was for Popery. One Civil War was in a great meaſure occaſioned by Popery. She is in danger of another Civil War by Popery. I will not ſay what ſhe hath ſuffered abroad for your ſakes. She hath ſuffered more than ſhe can well bear; and muſt ſhe ſuffer ſtill? muſt ſhe ſtill be in fear for your ſakes? Why ſhould you not be gone, and free her from her fears? If they are true, that ſhe may not be deſtroyed: and if falſe, that ſhe may not be always in fear of you.

But

But perhaps we cannot expect ſo much favour at their hands, and therefore we ſhould be the more careful for our ſelves. Let us do what we can do, if we will, without them. We need not fear them ſo much, if it were not for our Diviſions. That is the thing which makes us moſt in danger of them. We divide, and ſubdivide; We take the way to make our ſelves weak, and little, and indefenſible. We promote their deſign by it, to ſwallow us up. We ſhould not go down ſo eaſily whole, as we may do in ſmall pieces. We cannot but ſee this. Oh! that we had hearts to conſider it! that we would do what we can to unite our ſelves! Surely we can, if we will: we could, if we had but a real mind to it. We will, and muſt very ſpeedily do it; or elſe, if we do not unite, do what we will otherwiſe, we ſhall let in Popery, even by the ways that we take to keep out Popery.

Well! nothing can be too bad for us to ſuffer, upon the account of our ſins: yet nothing can be too good to expect, from that God, who hath preſerved us, and will preſerve us, if we are not wanting to our ſelves. If we Reform our lives according to our Religion; if we eſchew evil and do good, if we ſeek peace

and

and ensue it; then we shall see good days, then God will delight to dwell among us, he will build us like *Jerusalem*, a City at unity within it self, that shall stand fast for ever.

The Lord grant it for his Mercy sake. *Amen.*

FINIS.